



*Studies in Medieval History and Culture*

# FRANKS AND LOMBARDS IN ITALIAN CAROLINGIAN TEXTS

MEMORIES OF THE VANQUISHED

Edited and translated by  
Luigi Andrea Berto



# Franks and Lombards in Italian Carolingian Texts

*Franks and Lombards in Italian Carolingian Texts* examines how historians of Carolingian Italy portrayed the history of the Lombards, Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom, and the presence of the Franks in the Italian Peninsula.

The different contexts and periods in which these writers composed their works allow readers to focus on various aspects of this period and to highlight the different ways the vanquished remembered Carolingian rule in Italy. The 'memories' of these authors are organized by topic, ranging from the origin of the Lombards to the conflicts that broke out among the Carolingians after Louis II died in 875. Besides presenting the English translation and the Latin text of the excerpts from the Italian Carolingian historical works, the volume also contains the English translation of the same events recorded in Frankish and papal narrative texts. In this way it is possible to compare different memories about the same episode or topic.

The book will appeal to scholars and students of the Lombards and Carolingians, as well as all those interested in medieval Europe.

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# **Franks and Lombards in Italian Carolingian Texts**

Memories of the Vanquished

**Edited and translated by  
Luigi Andrea Berto**

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# Abbreviations

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

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# Introduction

The goal of this book is to present how Carolingian Italy's authors narrated the history of the Lombards, who had invaded Italy in 569, and portrayed Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774 and the presence of the Franks in the Italian Peninsula during the ninth century. The different contexts and periods in which these writers composed their works allow us to focus on various aspects of this period and to highlight the different ways the vanquished remembered the Lombard past and Carolingian rule in Italy.

The 'memories' of these authors will be organized by topic and will range from the origin of the Lombards to the conflicts that broke out among the Carolingians after Emperor Louis II died in 875 without an heir. Besides presenting the English translation and the Latin text of the excerpts from the Italian Carolingian historical works,<sup>1</sup> the volume also presents the English translation and the Latin text of the same events recorded in Frankish and papal narrative works.<sup>2</sup> In this way, it is possible to compare different memories about the same episode or topic.

## Carolingian Italy

Taking advantage of the problems created in Byzantine Italy by the iconoclastic policy of Emperor Leo III (717–741) and his son, Constantine V (741–775), the

1 The texts are the two chronicles written in Carolingian Italy—the *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* (*History of the Lombards of the Gotha Codex*), and the *Historia* by Andreas of Bergamo—and two short historical works in verse—*De Pippini regis victoria Avarica* (*King Pippin's Victory over the Avars*) and *Rythmus de captivitate Lhuduici imperatoris* (*Rythmus on Emperor Louis's Captivity*)—that describe a particular event. The English translation and Latin text of the excerpts are taken from *Italian Carolingian Historical and Poetic Texts*, ed. and trans. L. A. Berto (Pisa, 2016). The introduction of this volume is a revised version of *Italian Carolingian Historical and Poetic Texts*, pp. 9–31, and L. A. Berto, *Making History in Ninth-Century Northern and Southern Italy* (Pisa, 2018), chapters 2–5.

2 The texts are the *Royal Frankish Annals*, the biographies of Charlemagne by Einhard (ca. 770–840) and Notker the Stammerer (840–912), the *Annals of St. Bertin*, the *Annals of Fulda*, and the biographies of Pope Hadrian (772–795), and Pope Leo III (795–816). For the English translation of the excerpts of these sources, see the bibliographical references in the notes. I have sometimes made small changes to the translations.

King of the Lombards, Aistulf (749–756), attempted to conquer the parts of Italy that were not under his rule. After occupying Ravenna in 750/751, he began to threaten Rome.<sup>3</sup> In the wake of these events Pope Stephen II traveled to *Francia* in order to request assistance from the King of the Franks, Pippin III. In 754, the pontiff bestowed royal unction on the Frankish sovereign and his sons, thereby legitimizing Pippin III, who had deposed the previous king. With this gesture, Stephen II secured the intervention of the Franks against the Lombards. On two occasions Pippin III defeated the King of the Lombards, Aistulf, (in 754 and 756) and imposed the return of all the territories the Lombards had conquered.<sup>4</sup> Yet the Frankish ruler could not intervene against Desiderius (757–774), the new Lombard king, who had once again invaded some of the former Byzantine territories. Desiderius's position was strengthened by the disagreements between Pippin III's heirs, Carloman and Charlemagne. The situation appeared to turn further in favor of the Lombard sovereign when Charlemagne, in need of an ally against his brother, married one of Desiderius's daughters.<sup>5</sup> However, the death of Carloman at the end of 771 rendered this alliance unnecessary, and Charlemagne repudiated his Lombard wife.<sup>6</sup> In 773, Desiderius threatened to attack Rome. The Frankish ruler then decided to intervene. In June 774 he conquered the capital of the Lombard Kingdom Pavia, captured Desiderius, and assumed the title of king of the Lombards.<sup>7</sup> The new sovereign initially chose not to replace all the members of the Lombard ruling class but to pursue a policy of continuity. In 775–776, however, when several Lombard dukes fomented a rebellion in north-eastern Italy, Charlemagne seized the opportunity to eliminate those Lombards who still opposed the Franks. In replacing such men with lords from beyond the Alps, the Frankish ruler increased the number of non-Lombards holding office in Italy.<sup>8</sup> He also granted the kingdom to his son Pippin,<sup>9</sup> who sought to expand his domains. Nevertheless, Pippin's sole notable victory was the one over the Avars

3 Th. F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 29–40; T. Brown, 'Byzantine Italy, c. 680—c. 876', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume II: c. 700—c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 324–7.

4 P. Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume II: c. 700—c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 298–300; Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 74–8; A. Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent* (Berkeley, 2004), pp. 18–20, 24–5.

5 Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', pp. 300–1. Rosamond McKitterick has unconvincingly hypothesized that this marriage never took place. R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 86–8.

6 Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', p. 300; J. L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (Oakland, 2019), pp. 100–10.

7 Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', pp. 301–3; Barbero, *Charlemagne*, pp. 26–32; Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 127–43.

8 P. Cammarosano, *Nobili e re: L'Italia politica dell'alto medioevo* (Rome—Bari, 1998), pp. 102–3; C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (London, 1981), pp. 47–8; Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 159–62.

9 Barbero, *Charlemagne*, p. 37; Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', p. 304; Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 182–3.

who resided in an area corresponding approximately to present-day Hungary.<sup>10</sup> His attempts to seize the Italian territories his father left unconquered<sup>11</sup> ended in failure.<sup>12</sup>

Pippin died in 810, and his son, Bernard, became king.<sup>13</sup> Charlemagne's death in 814, however, changed the political scenario. In 817, the new emperor, Louis the Pious, decreed that, on his own death, the Empire should be divided among his three sons: Lothar, Pippin, and Louis. The Kingdom of Italy should have passed to Lothar who was appointed co-emperor as well. Bernard, feeling himself excluded, rebelled. Louis the Pious immediately sent an army to Italy and Bernard was easily captured and taken to *Francia*, where he was blinded and died as a result of the inflicted wounds.<sup>14</sup>

Because Lothar was entangled in the struggles between his father and brothers over the division of the Empire,<sup>15</sup> he was frequently gone from Italy. Lothar's neglect of Italy reduced the stabilizing force of public authority in his kingdom. With recourse to central power being unavailable, a rise in local aristocratic autonomy soon developed.<sup>16</sup> The Italian Kingdom had a 'full time' sovereign again only from 844 onward, when Lothar, totally focused on defending his transalpine inheritance, sent his son Louis II to govern Italy. Louis II, co-emperor in 850 and emperor on his father's death in 855, did not embroil himself in the conflicts over the division of the Carolingian Empire. Instead, he dwelt permanently in Italy and managed, albeit with difficulty, to restore internal order. Following the example of his great-grandfather Charlemagne, who had held an itinerant court, Louis II traveled his kingdom, seeking to remedy problems personally. His provisions, which aimed to ensure that wrongdoers did not go unpunished, bear testimony to his strength and, at the same time, highlight the gravity of the previous state of affairs.<sup>17</sup>

10 W. Pohl, *Die Awaren: Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa. 567–822 n. Chr.* (München, 1988), pp. 312–23; Barbero, *Charlemagne*, pp. 67–9; Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 326, 333–4.

11 These areas were the former Lombard duchy of Benevento, which had become an independent principality after the fall of the Lombard kingdom, and the Venetian duchy, that was theoretically a part of the Byzantine Empire, but it was in practice autonomous.

12 O. Bertolini, 'Carlomagno e Benevento', in *Karl der Grosse. Lebensweg und Nachleben*, vol. 1: *Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, ed. H. Beumann (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 609 ff; S. Gasparri, 'Il ducato e il principato di Benevento', in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, part II. *Il Medioevo*, 2 vols (Naples, 1988), I, pp. 110–12; L. A. Berto, *Early Medieval Venice: Cultural Memory and History* (Abingdon—New York, 2020), chapter 3.

13 G. Albertoni, *L'Italia carolingia* (Rome, 1997), p. 33; Barbero, *Charlemagne*, p. 140.

14 P. Depreux, 'Das Königtum Bernhards von Italien und sein Verhältnis zum Kaisertum', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 72 (1992), pp. 1–25; Cammarosano, *Nobili e re*, pp. 144–6.

15 J. L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London—New York, 1992), pp. 76–129; E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt, 1996), pp. 178–95.

16 Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 50–1; Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', p. 309.

17 P. Delogu, 'Strutture politiche e ideologia nel regno di Ludovico II', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 80 (1968), pp. 137–89; Albertoni, *L'Italia carolingia*, pp. 43–5.

Louis II made a concerted effort to defeat the Muslims in southern Italy. Not only did the Saracens undertake to seize Sicily from the Byzantines, but they also ventured throughout southern Italy with frequent incursions, reaching as far as Rome in 846 and sacking St. Peter's. They took advantage of the continual struggles among the various lords of southern Italy, fighting as mercenaries and establishing some dominions, such as the emirates of Bari and Taranto.<sup>18</sup> Because Louis II lacked southern Lombard support, his campaigns were ultimately unsuccessful. Moreover, he was believed to harbor hegemonic aims over southern Italy.<sup>19</sup> In 866, Louis II organized a large expedition against the Saracens, and in 871, with the aid of a Byzantine fleet, succeeded in conquering the emirate of Bari. This victory seemed to have paved the way for the complete expulsion of the Muslims from southern Italy. The sovereign had not, however, considered the political situation of the area nor the Lombards' overwhelming desire for independence. With the disappearance of the emirate of Bari, the greatest enemy of the Lombards was, in fact, Louis II himself. The Prince of Benevento, Adelchis, imprisoned the Frankish sovereign, releasing him only after having extracted the promise that he would no longer go to southern Italy on his own initiative. This episode proved to be a harsh blow to the prestige of the sovereign, who, with the exception of an expedition to aid Salerno during a Saracens' siege, was never able to interfere in the South again.<sup>20</sup> Louis II died in 875 without an heir, which led to conflict among his relatives who wanted to take possession of the Kingdom of Italy and the prestige of the imperial title. The King of the western Franks, Charles the Bald, was eventually crowned emperor at the end of 875, but he died in 877 and the struggles for the control of the Italian crown consequently continued.<sup>21</sup>

## The Italian Carolingian chronicles

The *History of the Lombards of Gotha's Codex* is anonymous, has no dedication, prologue, or title,<sup>22</sup> and describes events from the Lombard people's origin to the beginning of the ninth century. This chronicle must have been written between 806 and 810,<sup>23</sup> as it ends with the expedition of Charlemagne's son, Pippin, against the

18 G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari*, 2nd ed. (Bari, 1967); B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), pp. 29–32; L. A. Berto, *Christians and Muslims in Early Medieval Italy: Perceptions, Encounters, and Clashes* (Abingdon—New York, 2020), pp. 127–8.

19 Gasparri, 'Il ducato e il principato di Benevento', pp. 123–4; Musca, *L'emirato di Bari*, pp. 64–6.

20 Musca, *L'emirato di Bari*, pp. 117–20; Gasparri, 'Il ducato e il principato di Benevento', pp. 125–6; Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, pp. 46–7, 55–7.

21 Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 230–5; Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', pp. 313–15; Cammarosano, *Nobili e re*, pp. 198–200.

22 The title *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* stems from the fact that the sole manuscript reporting this chronicle, dating to the eleventh–twelfth century, is in the Forschungsbibliothek of Gotha (Germany).

23 W. Pohl, 'Memory, Identity, and Power in Lombard Italy', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge, 2000), p. 21; M. Coumert, *Origines des Peuples: Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550–850)* (Paris, 2007), p. 251.

Muslims in Corsica (806)<sup>24</sup> and with praise for the rule of Pippin (d. 810) in Italy.<sup>25</sup> The author's celebration of the victories of Charlemagne and Pippin<sup>26</sup> might suggest that he was a Frank who had moved to Italy after Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom.<sup>27</sup> Yet the fact that, recounting the Lombards' settlement in Saxony, the chronicler referred to what 'our ancient forefathers' had said,<sup>28</sup> might indicate that he was very likely of Lombard origin.<sup>29</sup> Another biographical detail can be observed in the chronicler's description of how, in his days, one could still see the remains of the residence of Wacho,<sup>30</sup> king of the Lombards in the early sixth century when his people had settled in an area between Bohemia and Hungary.<sup>31</sup> This could mean that the author participated in one of Pippin's expeditions against the Avars. Nevertheless, the chronicler did not state that he had seen the ruins in person, so it is also possible that he learned of them from someone who had traveled to Pannonia.

The text's rough Latin indicates that the author had a fairly low level of education, perhaps acquired as a young man. This theory becomes more likely when one considers his erroneous attribution of an observation by Isidore of Seville to Saint Jerome;<sup>32</sup> such a mistake could easily have been made by someone reciting from memory facts he had learnt many years before. The chronicler, however, shows a

24 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 11: 'Igitur Corsicam insulam a Mauris oppressam suo iussu eiusque exercitus liberavit.' (Then, by his order, his army liberated the island of Corsica which was oppressed by the Moors). According to the Frankish Annals, this campaign occurred in 806. *Annales regni Francorum*, in *Annales regni Francorum et Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* (Hanover, 1895), annum 806.

25 The work is not unfinished as it ends with the word *Amen*. *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 11.

26 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapters 10–11.

27 *Le leggi dei Longobardi: Storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico*, eds. C. Azzara and S. Gasparri (Rome, 2005, 2nd ed.), p. LVIII.

28 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 2.

29 S. Cingolani, Bruno Luiselli, and Magali Coumert agree with this opinion. S. M. Cingolani, *Le Storie dei Longobardi: Dall'Origine a Paolo Diacono* (Rome, 1995), p. 35; B. Luiselli, *Storia culturale dei rapporti fra mondo romano e mondo germanico* (Rome, 1992), p. 723; Coumert, *Origines des Peuples*, p. 251. Walter Pohl hypothesizes that the *Historia* of Gotha was composed in Milan, while M. Coumert believes that it might have been written in Montecassino. W. Pohl, 'La costituzione di una memoria storica: il caso dei Longobardi', in *Studi sulle società e le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi*, eds. L. Gatto and P. Supino Martini (Florence, 2002), p. 574; Coumert, *Origines des Peuples*, p. 252. I think that it is more likely that the *Historia* of Gotha was composed in northern Italy.

30 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 2: 'Unde usque hodie presentem diem Wachoni regi eorum domus et habitatio apparet signa.' (The remains of the house and dwelling of their King Wacho can still be seen today).

31 N. Christie, *The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 18–20.

32 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 2: 'Primis Winili proprio nomine seu et parentela; nam, ut asserit Hieronimus, postea ad vulgorum vocem Langobardi nomen mutati sunt pro eo ad barba prolixa et numquam tonsa.' (At first their name was Winili, which was the same as that of their ancestors, but, as Jerome asserts, they later changed their name to the common word Lombards because of their long and never-shaven beards).

good grasp of Holy Scriptures.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, it is noteworthy that, when recounting the period under King Rothari, the anonymous author employed the Lombard term *cadarfada* to describe the customary regulations used to solve disputes.<sup>34</sup> In King Liudprand's legislation, the same regulations were defined utilizing the similar terms *cawerfedda* and *cawerfida*,<sup>35</sup> a detail indicating that the author was familiar with Lombard law. It is nonetheless possible that he copied such terms from a source unknown to us. There is a further point linking this work with Lombard legislation: the *Historia* of Gotha survives in a manuscript that also contains the *corpus* of Lombard laws, thus suggesting that this chronicle could have been intended as an introduction to the latter.<sup>36</sup> However, as the codex dates to the eleventh/twelfth century, it is impossible to be certain that this chronicle was intended for such a purpose. For example, it could have been inserted before the laws some time after it had been composed. Unlike the other early medieval Italian chroniclers narrating the history of the Lombards,<sup>37</sup> the Gotha *Historia*'s author did not know Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*.<sup>38</sup> His main source (along with some unknown texts) was the *Origin of the Lombard People*, a text compiled around the mid-seventh century.<sup>39</sup>

The lack of a dedication and a prologue characterizes the *History* of Andreas of Bergamo as well. The little information known about this author comes from his work. The chronicler stated that his name was Andreas, that he was a priest,<sup>40</sup> and

33 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 1.

34 *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, chapter 8: 'et per conscriptionem primis iudices percurrunt; nam antea per cadarfada et arbitrio seu ritus fierunt causationes.' (And for the first time the judges used written laws. Previously, all causes were decided by *cadarfada*, that is either by arbitration or by custom).

35 *Liutprandi leges*, in *Le Leggi dei Longobardi*, chapters 77, 133.

36 Cingolani, *Le storie dei Longobardi*, p. 35.

37 For example, the chronicles of Andreas of Bergamo and Erchempert and the *Chronicon Salernitanum*.

38 As it has been also emphasized by Coumert, *Origines des Peuples*, p. 219, this detail represents a strong argument against the hypothesis of R. McKitterick, who argues that Paul the Deacon wrote the *Historia Langobardorum* as an informative text on the Lombards for Pippin and his court. If this were the case, it would be very difficult to explain why the author of the only chronicle produced by a member of Pippin's entourage did not know the *Historia Langobardorum*. R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 77–83.

39 Luiselli, *Storia culturale*, p. 760, note 1272; Coumert, *Origines des Peuples*, p. 253. The chronicler used chapters 3–6 of the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*. S. M. Cingolani argues that the *Historia* of Gotha and the *Origo* copied from the same source. Cingolani, *Le storie dei Longobardi*, p. 94. Walter Goffart and Nicholas Everett instead believe that the author of the Gotha's *Historia* took his information from Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*. More nuanced is Eduardo Fabbro, who maintains that the anonymous author likely knew this work. W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A. D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), p. 382, note 163; N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 94; E. Fabbro, 'Charlemagne and the Lombard Kingdom That Was: The Lombard Past in Post-Conquest Italian Historiography', *Journal of the CHA*, 25, 2 (2014), p. 14.

40 Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, chapter 2: 'Haec autem ad abbreviationem superscripta, in quantum potui, exerpsi ego Andreas, licet indignus, presbyter de historiae Langobardorum.' (The things written above in this summary, I, the priest Andreas, although unworthy, took from the *History of the Lombards* in so far as I could).

that he had gone from the Oglio river to the Adda river in the funeral procession carrying the coffin of Emperor Louis II (d. 875) from Brescia to Milan.<sup>41</sup>

The chronicle ends abruptly with an incomplete sentence mentioning an event that happened shortly after the year 877;<sup>42</sup> this leads to the supposition that Andreas died soon afterwards. There is no other evidence to support this hypothesis, yet it can be assumed that the work was compiled not long after 877, since the oldest manuscript of this text, which is not an autograph, dates to the end of the ninth century.

The lack of any other biographical details in the chronicle makes it impossible to be sure which episodes were contemporary with Andreas's life. The eclipse and the aurora borealis he described had occurred shortly before Emperor Louis the Pious's death (840). His account of the widespread fear following these two unusual phenomena<sup>43</sup> could imply that he witnessed them. If this is the case, then it would be possible to deduce that he was already an adult by that time and so was born between 810 and 820. Nonetheless, this is just a hypothesis; the possibility that he was a young man in his twenties in 875 and heard about the strange natural events of 840 from an elder should not be ruled out. The latter case would explain a factual error in the *Historia*: Andreas's description of Pope Leo III traveling to *Francia* in order to ask for Charlemagne's help against the Lombards.<sup>44</sup> In reality, it was Pope Hadrian who requested the Frankish sovereign to intervene in the conflict, but the pontiff never actually crossed the Alps. A voyage into the land of the Franks was made, however, by one of his predecessors, Stephen II, who made the trip at the end of 753 when the ruler of the Franks was Pippin III, Charlemagne's father. Leo III, too, crossed the mountains in 799, but with the aim of obtaining Charlemagne's help against the Romans who had made an attempt on the pope's life.<sup>45</sup> This type of error is understandable if one assumes that the chronicler learned of these happenings from people who were not actually contemporaries of that period. Gabriella La Placa, on the other hand, speculates that Andreas was born between 830 and 840. To support this claim, she argues that, in 875, the chronicler was a *presbyter*, a position rarely bestowed on young men. She also contends that, as he was one of Louis II's coffin bearers, a task that would have required a certain amount of physical strength, he must not have been too old at that time.<sup>46</sup>

41 The author highlighted that he had helped to carry the sovereign's coffin. Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, chapter 22: 'Veritatem in Christo loquor: ibi fui et partem aliquam portavi et cum portantibus ambulavi da flumine qui dicitur Oleo usque ad flumen Adua.' (I speak the truth in Christ. I was there, I carried it for a part of the trip and I walked with the bearers from the river, which is named Oglio, to the river Adda).

42 Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, chapter 24: 'Quod ille [Charles the Bald] videns, fugam iniit et Galliam repedavit, statimque in ipso itinere mortuus est. Carlomannus vero regnum Italie disponens, post non multum tempus ad patrem in Baioariam reversus est. Inter hec Hludovicus rex.' (Having seen that, Charles fled and went to Gaul, but died suddenly during the journey. Having established order in the kingdom of Italy, Carloman returned to his father in Bavaria shortly thereafter. Meanwhile, King Louis). The reference is to the death of Charles the Bald, which occurred in 877.

43 Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, chapter 12.

44 Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, chapter 4.

45 Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 292–3.

46 G. La Placa, 'Andrea di Bergamo e l' 'abbreviato de gestis Langobardorum': note biografiche e testuali', *Maia. Rivista di letterature classiche*, 46 (1994), p. 61.